

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05

H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01

SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 /076 W

-----018904 211616Z /45

O R 211450Z JUL 77

FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6174

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L LUSAKA 2126

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PDEV ZA

SUBJ: ZAMBIAN APPROACH TOWARDS SWAPO

REF: (A) LUSAKA 2113, (B) USUN 2058

SUMMARY: AT HIS REQUEST I MET WITH KAUNDA'S SPECIAL ASSISTANT MARK CHONA MORNING JULY 21 TO DISEISS NAMIBIAN DEVELOPMENTS PRIOR TO KAUNDA MEETING WITH NUJOMA FIXED FOR LATER IN THE DAY. CHONA WANTED U.S. VIEWS ON WHAT KAUNDA SHOULD SAY TO NUJOMA RE CONTACT GROUP INITIATIVE. I URGED THAT KAUNDA SHOULD ENCOURAGE SWAPO TO SEND A STRONG DELEGATION TO NEW YORK TO EXPLORE WITH CONTACT GROUP ANY RESERVATIONS IT HAD ABOUT DISCUSSIONS HELD THUS FAR WITH SAG. CHONA SAID HE WOULD RECOMMEND TO KAUNDA THAT HE DO SO, BUT IN HIS COMMENTS HE MADE CLEAR THAT NEITHER HE NOR KAUNDA WERE PREPARED TO URGE SWAPO TO UNDERTAKE DISCUSSIONS IN SPIRIT OF COMPROMISE. END SUMMARY.

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1. SHORTLY AFTER SENDING REFTEL A CHONA ASKED ME TO COME TO STATE HOUSE. CHONA OPENED THE CONVERSATION BY SAYING HE WANTED A RESUME OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS AFFECTING THE WORK OF THE CONTACT GROUP. KAUNDA WOULD MEET SAM NUJOMA LATER IN THE DAY AND WANTED TO BE BRIEFED BEFORE THE MEETING. I NOTED THAT HE (CHONA) HAD MET WITH MCHENRY JUNE 27 AND HAD BEEN BROUGHT UP TO DATE ON THE STATE OF PLAY AS OF THAT

TIME (REFTEL B). NOT MUCH HAD DEVELOPED SUBSEQUENTLY AND ONE REASON FOR THIS WAS THAT SWAPO HAD NOT BEEN FORTHCOMING IN FIXING A DATE FOR MEETING WITH THE CONTACT GROUP. CHONA ASKED FOR CONVINCING REASONS AS TO WHY SWAPO SHOULD BECOME INVOLVED IN A PROCESS LEADING TO INDEPENDENCE AS DISCUSSED BY THE CONTACT GROUP AND THE SAG. I WENT THROUGH THE ARGUMENTS ABOUT HOW THE CONTACT GROUP APPROACH COULD LEAD TO AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE INDEPENDENCE FOR NAMIBIA, NOTING THAT SOUTH AFRICA APPEARED PREPARED TO GRANT INDEPENDENCE TO NAMIBIA BY DECEMBER 31, 1978 WITH OR WITHOUT SWAPO. CHONA WAS UNCONVINCED. HE SAID HE UNDERSTOOD AND SHARED SWAPO'S CONCERN THAT THE PROCESS HAD BEEN AGREED TO BY VORSTER WITH THE UNSTATED INTENT TO GRANT INDEPENDENCE TO A NAMIBIA LED BY SOUTH AFRICAN PUPPETS. SOUTH AFRICA'S OBJECTIVES IN ORDER OF PRIORITY WERE, HE SAID: (1) AN INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT IN NAMIBIA COMPOSED OF TURNHALLE REPRESENTATIVES, AND (2) A GOVERNMENT DOMINATED BY TURNHALLE WITH MINOR REPRESENTATION FROM SWAPO. IN NO EVENT WOULD SOUTH AFRICA AGREE TO TURN OVER POWER TO A GOVERNMENT DOMINATED BY SWAPO. VORSTER AND SMITH WERE JUST THE SAME; THEY CANNOT BE TRUSTED TO KEEP THEIR WORD AND ONE SHOULD ALWAYS SEARCH FOR THEIR HIDDEN MOTIVATIONS. THEY BOTH ARE PAST MASTERS AT GIVING THE IMPRESSION OF MOVEMENT WHILE ENSURING THAT EVERYTHING STANDS STILL.

2. CHONA THEN ASKED WHAT THE U.S. WOULD LIKE KAUNDA SPECIFICALLY TO SAY TO NUJOMA. I SAID IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF KAUNDA WOULD CONFIDENTIAL

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URGE NUJOMA TO SEND A STRONG DELEGATION TO NEW YORK FOR CONSULTATIONS WITH THE CONTACT GROUP. KAUNDA COULD POINT OUT THAT IF SWAPO HAD RESERVATIONS ABOUT ASPECTS OF PROPOSALS AS THEY NOW STAND, THE NEW YORK MEETING WOULD BE THE PLACE TO THRESH THEM OUT. CHONA SAID HE BELIEVED KAUNDA WOULD URGE NUJOMA TO RESPOND FAVORABLY TO THE INVITATION TO MEET IN NEW YORK. HOWEVER, HE SAID HE WANTED TO STATE FLATLY THAT KAUNDA WAS UNLIKELY TO URGE SWAPO TOWARDS COMPROMISE IN AREAS OF PARTICULAR CONCERN TO SWAPO, REPEATING ONCE AGAIN THAT ZAMBIA SHARED SWAPO'S SUSPICION OF ANYTHING AGREED TO BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT.

COMMENT: BURNED BY PREVIOUS ATTEMPTS TO NEGOTIATE WITH BOTH VORSTER AND SMITH, CHONA AND ALMOST CERTAINLY KAUNDA ARE EXTREMELY LEARY OF URGING SWAPO TO ENTER INTO A PROCESS WHERE THEY HAVE TO DEPEND ON THE GOOD FAITH OF VORSTER. WE SUSPECT KAUNDA WILL URGE SWAPO TO GO TO NEW YORK, BUT AT THIS POINT WE PROBABLY CANNOT COUNT ON KAUNDA TO PRESS SWAPO TO BE MORE COMPROMISING.  
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## Message Attributes

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